1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, as yet but in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even laying by for a whole year; at last they settled on the four great rivers (which we call Delaware, Hudson, Susquehannah, and Potomack) making the Delaware, to which they gave the name of "*Lenapewihittuck*,"* (the river or stream of the Lenape) the centre of their possessions.

They say, however, that the whole of their nation did not reach this country; that many remained behind in order to aid and assist that great body of their people, which had not crossed the Namæsi Sipu, but had retreated into the interior of the country on the other side, on being informed of the reception which those who had crossed had met with, and probably thinking that they had all been killed by the enemy.

Their nation finally became divided into three separate bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one half of the whole, were settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which, the strongest as they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them, on this side of that river.

Those of the Delawares who fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic divided themselves into three tribes. Two of them, distinguished by the names of the *Turtle* and the *Turkey*, the former calling themselves *Unámis* and the other *Unalachtgo*, chose those grounds to settle on, which lay nearest to the sea, between the coast and the high mountains. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from the *Mohicannittuck* (river of the Mohicans, which we call the North or Hudson river) to

* The word "Hittuck," in the language of the Delawares, means a rapid stream; "Sipo," or "Sipu," is the proper name for a river.

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173 beyond the Potomack. Many families with their con-
131 nexions choosing to live by themselves, were scattered
101 not only on the larger but also on the small streams, throughout the country, having towns and villages, where they lived together in separate bodies, in each of which a chief resided; those chiefs, however, were subordinate (by their own free will, the only kind of subordination which the Indians know) to the head chiefs or great council of the nation, whom they officially informed of all events or occurrences affecting the general interest which came to their knowledge. The third tribe, the *Wolf*, commonly called the *Minsi*, which we have corrupted into *Monseys*, had chosen to live back of the two other tribes, and formed a kind of bulwark for their protection, watching the motions of the Mengwe, and being at hand to afford their aid in case of a rupture with them. The Minsi were considered the most warlike and active branch of the Lenape. They extended
[103] their settlements, from the *Minisink*, a place named after them, where they had their council seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east; and to the west or south west far beyond the Susquehannah: their northern boundaries were supposed originally to be the heads of the great rivers Susquehannah and Delaware, and their southern boundaries that ridge of hills known in New Jersey by the name of *Muskanecun*, and in Pennsylvania, by those of *Lehigh*, *Coghnewago*, &c. Within this boundary were their principal settlements; and even as late as the year 1742, they had a town, with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where *Nazareth*, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on *Lehigh*, (the west branch of the Delaware,) and others beyond the blue ridge, besides small family settlements here and there scattered.

173 From the above *three* tribes, the *Unamis*, *Unalachtgo*,

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175 pulation was gradually reduced, but they lost the desire of becoming a civilised people; for the Americans, at last, become exasperated against them, and considering all Indians as their enemies, they sent parties out from time to time to destroy them. The murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum in 1782, completed their alienation. Those who yet remained were driven to despair, and finally dispersed.

131 It is not in my power to ascertain the whole number 167 of the Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, still existing 161 at the present time. As far as I am informed, they are very much scattered, a number of them, chiefly of the Monsey tribe, living in Upper Canada, others are in the state of Ohio, and some on the waters of the Wabash in the Indiana territory. A considerable number of them has crossed the Mississippi. Their first emigrations to that country had already begun between the years 1780 and 1790. What the numbers of this nation were when the Europeans first came into this country is difficult to tell; all I can say is, that so early as 1760, their oldest men would say that they were not then as many hundreds as they had been thousands. They have considerably decreased since that period. I saw them myself between the years 1754 and 1760, by hundreds at a time, and Loskiel in his history gives an account of upwards of 800 having been fed at Bethlehem in one year. In the year 1762, while I lived at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, they were settled on that river and its branches, and also on the Cayahoga river, which empties into Lake Erie, in the neighbourhood of which they had [103] since a small Christian settlement called *Pilgerruh*, (Pilgrim's rest.)*

* Loskiel, part III. ch. 12.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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a once large and flourishing settlement. It is probable that by this time they are nearly if not entirely extinct.

It is believed that the Mahicanni are the same nation who are so celebrated in the History of New England, under the name of *Pequods* or *Pequots*.* The Rev. Jonathan Edwards, late President of Union College at Schenectady, in the State of New York, published in the year 1788 in a pamphlet form, some observations on their language, which were republished at New York in 1804. This small tract, as well as the translation of the Bible into the Natick, by the venerable Eliott, and his grammar of that language, put it beyond a doubt that the idiom of the Mohicans and those of the other New England Indians proceeded from the same source with that of the Leuni Lenape.

CHAPTER V.

THE IROQUOIS.

THE most intelligent and credible Indians of the Lenape stock, including the Mohicans, have ever asserted, that in the whole country bounded on the north by the river St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, (including what is now Nova Scotia and New Brunswick,) on the west by the Mississippi, on the east by the Great Salt-water Lake,† and on the south by the country of the Creeks, Cherokees, and other Florida Indians, there

* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. IX. p. 77. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. I. p. 28.

† The Atlantic ocean.

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were but two nations, the Mengwe, and themselves. Theirs was by far the most numerous and the most extensively settled, for their tribes extended even beyond the Mississippi. On the other side of the St. Lawrence, the Algonquins, the Killistenos or Knisteneaux, and others, speaking dialects of their language, prove their origin from the same stock. The Mengwe, on the contrary, were comparatively few, and occupied a much less portion of territory, being almost confined to the vicinity of the great lakes. But few tribes are known to be connected with them by descent and language; the principal ones are the Wyandots, otherwise called Hurons and the Naudowessies. Almost every other nation within the boundaries described, is of the Lenape family.

Each of these two great nations, say the Delawares, had an ancient national name, and a tradition of their respective origin, handed down to them by their ancestors, and diffused among all the kindred tribes. By whatsoever names those tribes might be called, and whatever their numbers were, still they considered themselves, and were considered by others, as the offspring of the same original stock. All the tribes who had sprung from the Lenape called the mother nation *grandfather*, and received, in return, the appellation of *grandchildren*. They were all united by the strongest ties of friendship and alliance; in their own expressive language, they made but *one house, one fire, and one canoe*, that is to say, that they constituted together one people, one family. The same thing took place between the Mengwe and the tribes descended from them. They and the Lenape had no relationship with each other, though they came over the Mississippi together at the same time. They considered each other as nations entirely distinct.

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The Mengwe or Iroquois were always considered by the Lenape as only one nation, consisting of several confederated tribes. The name of Five and afterwards Six Nations, was given to them by the English, whose allies

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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PART I. EARLY HISTORIC DELAWARE CULTURE

I. DELAWARE ORIGINS AND AFFILIATIONS

At the opening of the seventeenth century all of the Atlantic coastal peoples north of North Carolina and extending to the Maritime Provinces and the St. Lawrence were culturally similar to one another. Kroeber, however, distinguished two cultural provinces within the Algonkian area, a North Atlantic Slope and a Middle Atlantic Slope.[1] On the basis of an analysis of cultural traits Flannery divided this coastal area into three divisions, or subareas: Northern New England, Central, and Virginia-Maryland.[2] Kroeber's Middle Atlantic Slope is roughly equivalent to Flannery's Central area. The aborigines who were to become known as Delawares in the eighteenth century inhabited this Central or Middle Atlantic Slope area. They did not comprise, as the name Delaware implies, a single social, political, or linguistic entity. They did, however, inhabit a continuous area extending from Delaware Bay on the south, through Manhattan Island, and up the west side of the Hudson River to the Catskills on the north. Inland, they occupied the banks of the Delaware River and its tributaries northeast to the Hudson. This territory included part of the present state of Delaware, all of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and part of southern New York (Map 1).

The Delawaran peoples were centrally located within the Middle Atlantic Slope area. To the north were the Mahican, on the east bank of the Hudson lived the Wappinger division of the Mahican, and on Long Island were the Montauk, another Mahican group. To the south, in Maryland and part of Delaware, lived the Conoy, Nanticoke, Choptank, and associated peoples.[3] The other peoples of this area are little known apart from the notes in Captain John Smith's memoirs.[4] All of these peoples were similar to one another in culture and language, and remnants from most, if not all, of these tribes in later times became incorporated with the Delaware tribe. To the west, in eastern Pennsylvania, lived the Conestoga (or Susquehannock), an Iroquoian people.[5] To the northwest and north, in what is now New York State, were their Iroquoian relatives, the Five and later Six Nations.

Delaware Prehistory: a Summary

It is a difficult task to identify archaeological sites in the Middle Atlantic Slope area with historic tribes. This difficulty stems from two factors. First, soon after contact the coastal peoples emigrated, were dispersed, or died, with the result that it is impossible to find many coastal sites which contain contact materials. Second, since much

[1] Kroeber, 1947, p. 93.
[2] Flannery, 1939, p. 192.
[3] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93; Weslager, 1943, pp. 42-43.
[4] Smith, 1884, pp. 55, 351.
[5] Kroeber, 1947, Map 1a, p. 93.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[33] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 165-66.

[31] Newcomb, 1955, p. 63.

[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1902, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-86; Swanton, 1953, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.

[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 38.

[text continues on p. 7]

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Map 1

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to refer to that group of Delawares who "lived nearest to the sea."[34] The term seems to be of Munsi origin and was applied by them to the main body. The name first appeared in 1757 and was in use until the final removal to Oklahoma, but it is not remembered today.[35] The Unami occupied the middle reaches of the Delaware River including much of the Schuylkill River Valley. Besides territory in what is now Pennsylvania, they occupied a large part of New Jersey, as well as some territory on the lower Hudson.[36] The Unami were composed of the following subdivisions. The Navisink (or Neversinck, Navasink) "inhabited the Highlands south of Sandy Hook," the Sanhikan (also called Raritan) "were divided, it is said, in two sachemdoms and about twenty chieftaincies."[37] They occupied the Raritan Valley in northeast-central New Jersey, and probably the southern end of Staten Island. The third division was known as the Hackinsack (or Hackensack), and their territory included the valleys of the Hackinsack and Passaic rivers in northeastern New Jersey. The fourth division was the Aquackanonk; their territory included what is now Paterson, New Jersey, and they were "also described as occupying a considerable portion of the centre of New Jersey."[38] The fifth division, the Tappan (or Tapant), extended from the Hackinsack River to the highlands. They also seem to have had some land on the Hudson.[39] Wassenaer in 1624 associated a group called the Mechkentowoon with the Tappan; they may have been a separate group or a subdivision of the Tappan.[40] Swanton has termed them a Mahican subdivision.[41] The sixth division of the Unami was known as the Haverstraw; they lived north of the Tappan with undefined western boundaries and with Stony Point as their northern limit, according to Ruttenber. The Assiscunck and the Rancocas lived in the vicinity of Burlington, New Jersey, and Rancocas Creek to the south. Skinner gave the Okahoki as another division dwelling opposite the Rancocas on the west side of the Delaware. He also said that the Shackamaxon lived near and to the north of Philadelphia. These last two subdivisions Swanton assigned to the Unalachtigo. Some authorities list a number of other subdivisions in central New Jersey; these include Assunpink, Axion, Calcefar, Gashwechnagechga, Meletecunk, Mosilian, and Pompton. They may or may not have been independent Unami subdivisions. There is no assurance that the Unami groups were equal to one another in size or importance; they seem to have shared a common culture, but they were not unified politically.

On western Long Island two Montauk subdivisions, the Canarsee and the Rockaway, had close ties with the Unami and in part merged with the Delaware tribe in later times.[42] It is perhaps significant to recall that the East River Aspect also includes western Long Island. The Sanhikan, Hackensack, and Canarsee jointly occupied Staten Island, a

[34] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114.
[35] Speck, 1931, p. 14; Hunter, 1951, p. 2; Hayes, 1954, p. 65.
[36] Mooney, 1911, p. 330.
[37] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 89.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[39] Bolton, 1920, p. 281.
[40] Wassenaer, 1900, p. 87.
[41] Swanton, 1952, p. 41.
[42] Bolton, 1920, p. 271.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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fact which is probably indicative of their close cultural affiliations. On the southern end of Manhattan Island were a people known as the Reckgawawanc. Bolton said they had close relationships with the Tappan, and in 1669 "they were driven away to a refuge among the Tappan by the warparties of the Mohawk."[43] To the north of the Reckgawawanc was a group known as the Weckquaesgeek, a Wappinger subdivision. They also seem to have been closely related to the peoples on the west side of the Hudson.

The second traditional division of the Delawares is known as the Munsi (or Munsee, Monsey, Minsi, Monthey, Minisink). This word means "people of the stony country" or perhaps "mountaineers."[44] The label is apt, for the Munsi inhabited the more mountainous area along the headwaters and tributaries of the Delaware River. The Munsi were a distinct group culturally and until the last century were often considered a separate tribe. Cherokee-Delawares are still able to point out members of this group, and the Munsi have persisted as a distinct group in Canada. The term Munsi does not appear in the literature until the eighteenth century, and Wallace contends that they were a coalescence of peoples around the Minisink community.[45]

The Waoraneck, who originally lived on the Hudson in Orange County, near Stony Point, were one of the peoples who probably became Munsi. They seem to have been one of the five or six "tribes" of the Esopus country. The Warranawonkong formed the second division, and their territory "embraced the waters of the Shawangunk, the Wallkill and the Esopus rivers."[46] The Mamekoting, the third division of the Munsi, lived in the Makating Valley. "Their history is so intimately blended with that of the Esopus Indians that identification is impossible further than by title."[47] The little-known Wawarsink were the fourth group of Esopus Indians. The Katskill, another group, lived north of the Saugerties and formed the eastern watershed of the Catskill Mountains.[48] The principal group of Munsi, inhabiting the headwaters of the Delaware River, was termed the Minisink.

The third and southernmost group of Delawares is not well known, since they seem to have merged with the Unami at an early date. Their name is usually given as Unalachtigo[49] (sometimes Unalachto) and signifies "people who live near the ocean."[50] Speck has suggested that they were really Naraticon of southern New Jersey "under the guise of a dialectic name."[51] Brinton, on the other hand, felt that they might be Nanticoke (Unechtigo).[52] Wallace said that since the term is found only "in the pages of Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and their copyists" there was no group so named.[53] He proposed, however, that the word Unalachtigo might refer "to any Indians — Delawares or otherwise — who lived in southern New Jersey along the shore."[54] Philhower said that the

[43] Bolton, 1920, p. 344.
[44] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[45] Wallace, 1949, p. 11.
[46] Ruttenber, 1872, p. 93.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] Harrington, 1913, p. 208.
[50] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[51] Speck, 1931, p. 15.
[52] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.
[53] Wallace, 1949, p. 12.
[54] *Ibid.*

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Unalachtigo and Nanticoke were closely related in culture and had a common origin.[58] For convenience the term Unalachtigo is used for the natives of southern New Jersey who in later times became part of the Delaware tribe.

The southern tip of Cape May was inhabited by a people known as the Kechemeche, and in the same area Swanton located a group he termed the Tirans.[59] In the valleys of the rivers and creeks emptying into Delaware Bay were many small groups of Delawares. On Maurice Creek were the Sewaposee (or Sewapois), and above them on Cohansey Creek the Siconesse (or Sikonesses). The Mantese (or Manta, Mante) inhabited the vicinity of Salem Creek, and north of them on Raccoon Creek were the Narraticon (or Naraticon). A group termed Asomoche has also been mentioned for this vicinity. To the north of the Narraticon in New Jersey, in the neighborhood of Pensaukin Creek, were found the Eromiex (or Ermonex, Eriwonec, Eriwoneck, Armewaxes). Near Camden was a group called the Yacomanshaghking, and extending up the east bank of the Delaware River to Burlington were several poorly known bands. Opposite the Narraticon in the vicinity of Wilmington, Delaware, were the Chikelacki (Chikohoki?), as well as the Amimenipaty, Hopokohacking, Memankitonna, and Passayank.

In sum, the people who were to comprise the Delaware tribe of the eighteenth century were drawn from a large number of small, dispersed, and essentially autonomous groups. At the dawn of historic times they were not a tribe in the political sense, and since they differed somewhat from one another in other aspects of culture, it is perhaps unwise to think of them as a tribe. It was not until these groups had become consolidated in the early decades of the eighteenth century that the term Delaware is properly applicable to them. The English name Delaware was given to these people because they were concentrated near the Delaware River in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Modern Delawares sometimes say that the term is derived from a Delaware expression meaning "I said" or "I meant." There is a phonetic similarity between this Delaware expression and the English name, but it is probably a rationalization.[57] The Delawares' term for themselves is "Lenape" which means "people."[58] They also occasionally refer to themselves as the "lenni lenape" which means the "real" or the "original people,"[59] or something similar to "we, the people."[60]

Linguistic Affiliations

The term Delaware has been used to refer to a language of the Central type of Eastern-Central Algonkin.[61] Eastern-Central Algonkin

[58] Philhower, 1931, p. 4. Weslager, 1950, pp. 48-54, 57-58, presents strong evidence against this identification, however.

[59] Swanton, 1952, p. 50.

[60] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 114, agrees on this point.

[57] Brinton, 1885, p. 34.

[58] Wallace, 1949, p. 7.

[59] Wissler, 1941, pp. 70-71.

[61] Michelson, 1912, pp. 221-90; Bloomfield, 1946, p. 85.

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Though in the detail of the ceremony there has been change, as the Indians are more divided now than at that time [i.e., prehistorically] worship and sacrifice have continued as practiced in the early days, for the Indians believe that they would draw all manner of disease and misfortune upon themselves if they omitted to observe the ancestral rites.[104]

By the time the Shawnee prophet appeared the Delawares seem to have passed somewhat beyond the nativistic phase of acculturation.

Decadent Period (1814-1867)

The military defeats of the Delawares during the Nativistic Period and the disillusionment following the unsuccessful religious revivals set the stage for a phase of acculturation which is best described as one of decadence. By the second decade of the nineteenth century the Delawares were no longer an independent tribe, but were politically and militarily dominated by, and at the mercy of, the United States. In a social sense the tendencies towards dispersal first noted in the preceding period persisted, as small groups continued to desert the main body of the tribe. In other respects cultural decay and disintegration continued, although further acculturation is best described as halting. From this time on the Delawares underwent continuous, overt pressure to become "civilized" Americans.

History

In 1814 the British and Americans concluded a treaty of peace, one article of which stipulated that the Indian allies of the British would have their rights, privileges, and property restored.[105] In compliance with this treaty, in 1816 "A Treaty of Peace and Friendship" was entered into with the Delawares, as well as with other tribes.[106] This treaty did not long prevent the alienation of Indian lands, however, for during the administration of Monroe (1817-25) "a policy was inaugurated looking to increased westward emigration of Indians from east of the Mississippi."[107] Before the War of 1812 the Delawares had bitterly opposed the cession of land, but after the war they did not have the strength to resist the demands of the United States.[108]

In the Treaty of St. Mary's of 1818 the Delawares, including remnants of the Mahicans and Nanticokes, sold their land in Indiana to the government "without reserve." The government agreed to remove them to the west side of the Mississippi and give them land there, although no location or emigration date was set.[109] In 1820 Delawares from the

[104]Zeisberger, 1910, p. 136. Mahr, 1952, has documented the community responsibility of ritual leaders, as demonstrated in the experience of a Moravian convert of 1772.

[105]Thompson, 1937, p. 81; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 27-23.

[106]G. Foreman, 1946, p. 29.

[107]*Ibid.*, pp. 32-47.

[108]Thompson, 1937, p. 81.

[109]Brinton, 1885, pp. 124-25; Mooney, 1911, p. 337; G. Foreman, 1946, p. 37.

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Whitewater River region in southeastern Indiana and some Shawnees arrived at Kaskaskia. In November the Indian agent at Kaskaskia "paid for ferrying 1,346 Delawares and their 1,499 horses across the Mississippi."[110] Sickness hampered this migration as did also thievery of horses by whites.[111] They spent the winter of 1820 on the Current River in Carter and Shannon counties, Missouri, and they remained in this vicinity a second winter, despite the failure of their corn crop. During the early summer of 1821 the remaining White River Delawares began their trek to Missouri, but because of sickness and other difficulties they did not reach the Mississippi until winter.

In 1821 the Delawares were assigned land in western Missouri, but unfortunately this land possessed a lead mine which was coveted by whites.[112] Their Osage neighbors to the west also resented their presence, and hostilities resulted. During the second decade of this century the remaining Delawares in Ohio experienced increased pressure for emigration. The Delawares in Missouri urged them to migrate in a "correspondence by means of wampum."[113] The Indians of Missouri apparently were planning an alliance with these eastern Indians in order to strengthen themselves and dispossess the Osage. While negotiations were going on for removal of the eastern Indians, Senator Benton of Missouri proposed that land be provided west of Missouri for all Indians. By 1829 the Missouri Delawares and Ohio emigrants had consented to move to Kansas. The land reserved for them was in "the fork of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, extending up the Kansas to the Kansas line and up the Missouri to "Camp Leavenworth"; and thence by a line drawn westwardly, leaving a space of ten miles wide north of the Kansas boundary for an outlet."[114] This treaty provided that the Indians would be assisted in their removal with "ox teams, farming utensils, and provisions . . . ."[115] but some were so anxious that they moved on their own initiative. In 1829 the remaining Delawares in Ohio, chiefly Munsi, in a council with Cass at Detroit agreed to emigrate to Kansas.[116] In 1831 small bands were still moving west, including the band of the venerable Captain Pipe.[117]

As was noted earlier, some Delawares as early as 1789 had moved to Missouri under a Spanish grant. It appears to have been this band which was located on the Red River in the present-day McCurtain County, Oklahoma, in the early part of the nineteenth century. White settlers in 1828 petitioned the authorities for the removal of the Shawnees and Delawares in this area, the Shawnees having joined the Delawares subsequent to the War of 1812.[118] Under threat of armed might the Indians were driven from this locality to Texas. Samuel Houston attempted to supply the immigrant Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, and others with land embracing present-day Cherokee and

[110] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 41.
[111] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[112] *Ibid.*
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[116] *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 159-60.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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Smith counties along the Neches and Angelina rivers in eastern Texas. The Texas senate refused to ratify Houston's treaty, however, and Mirabeau B. Lamar, Houston's successor, attacked and defeated these Indians.[119] They fled across the Red River to the vicinity of the Washita and Blue rivers in the lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw. In the 1840's most of them settled in Creek territory on the north side of the Canadian River.[120] Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock reported in 1841 and 1842 that there were 700 Delawares "living sixty miles above the mouth of Little River."[121] They were at this time carrying on extensive intercourse with the Comanches and other western Indians. Foreman, quoting from the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, said that these Delawares "are in a semi-barbarous state, and entirely uneducated, but show great shrewdness and intelligence in their intercourse with the whites. As hunters and warriors they have a higher reputation than any other Indians on the frontier."[122]

Another small group of Texas Delawares had allied with the Caddos and they had intermarried. These, along with Tawakonis, Wacos, Shawnees, and Comanches, had been granted a reservation in Texas by the government. Texans resented their presence, however, and in 1859 the government moved them to the Washita River near the present town of Anadarko.[123] During the Civil War the agency responsible for the move was broken up, and the Indians fled to Butler County, Kansas. After the war they returned to the Washita much reduced in numbers; only 471 of the 1,492 who had emigrated from Texas were left. In 1874 the Delawares, Caddos, and Iowas near Anadarko joined forces under the Caddos, with a Caddo chief.[124] By 1886 the agency report listed only forty-one Delawares.[125] There appear to be no more than this number of Delawares in the Anadarko area today; they are culturally and biologically mixed with allied Indians.

Another group which was partly Delaware deserves mention here. This group, known as the Stockbridge, was originally the Mahican Housatonic of Massachusetts. After the American Revolution they joined the Oneida in New York, and in 1832, with a band of Oneida, confederated with a Christianized Munsi band on a reservation near Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin.[126] In 1839 the combined tribe of about 400 moved to Kansas, settling on Delaware lands. They were later reported as part of the Delaware tribe.[127] In 1853 the agent stated that there were only eighteen or twenty left. In 1859 the Stockbridge, variously known as Munsi or Christian Indians, confederated with two bands of Chippewa Indians in Kansas. After the Civil War the Cherokees took them into the Cherokee Nation. I found only one person who claimed to be a Stockbridge Indian living among the "Cherokee-Delawares."

Some Delawares served with the United States in the Seminole wars,

[119] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 161.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 164, as quoted in the *Arkansas Intelligencer*, Feb. 7, 1846, p. 1, col. 4.
[123] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 282.
[124] *Ibid.*, pp. 282-84.
[125] *Ann. Rep.*, 1886, p. 128.
[126] Wright, 1951, p. 246.
[127] G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 337-38.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

and according to Adams some were employed by the Hudson Bay Company and not only entered the far northwest, but settled there. He said that their descendants lived in Idaho, Montana, and Oregon in affiliation with the Crow and Nez Percé and "other northwestern tribes." He estimated their number at thirty-five.[128]

In 1838 there were 1,050 Delawares on their reservation at the mouth of the Kansas River.[129] There were also several hundred living along the Red River, as has been noted. These seem to have forsaken agriculture and were dependent upon the chase for most of their livelihood. The main body of Delawares, at the confluence of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, found no more tranquility or isolation from white contacts than they had found in Missouri, Indiana, or Ohio. Until 1833, when Indian agents concluded a treaty of peace, the Pawnees and Delawares were hostile to each other.[130] During the Gold Rush, and until the Delawares were forced from Kansas, white immigrants continually harassed them. Their horses were stolen, their timber cut, and their property violated. By 1854, in one of the Manypenny treaties, the Delawares were coerced into ceding much of their reservation. Adams said of this cession:

> They were encompassed on every side by settlers, and the history of their difficulties and discouragements was again repeated, their lands coveted and trespassed upon, their timber cut and destroyed. They were denied the protection of the law to either their property or persons, and in the hope of satisfying the demands of their neighbors and of the Government were persuaded, in 1854, to enter into a treaty with the United States by which they ceded 558,555.46 acres of the choicest of their lands in trust, which brought them $1,054,943.37, and at the same time to cede to the United States what was known as the "Outlet," a tract containing more than 1,000,000 acres, for the paltry sum of $10,000.[131]

In subsequent years the plight of the Delawares in Kansas became even more exasperating, for the railroads and the white settlers continued to covet their land.[132] In 1860 more Delaware lands were alienated by allotting to each Delaware eighty acres. The surplus land was to be purchased by the Pawnee and Western Railroad Company for $1.25 per acre.[133] In 1864 another treaty was made for the benefit of a railroad, resulting in the alienation of more land. By 1863 the harassed Delawares petitioned the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for money to send a delegation to the Rocky Mountains in search of a new home.[134] This request was refused, and a location in Indian Territory was suggested by the Commissioner, William P. Dole. Nothing could be done to further this movement until after the Civil War. Adams said that nearly all the able-bodied men enlisted in the Northern Army.[135]

On July 4, 1866, the Delaware tribe and the United States entered into another treaty providing for the removal of the Delawares to Indian

[128] Adams, 1906, p. 35.
[129] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 182; *Ann. Rep.*, 1838, p. 447.
[130] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 182.
[131] Adams, 1906, pp. 40-41.
[132] *Ibid.*, pp. 42 ff.
[133] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 185.
[134] Adams, 1906, p. 42; *Ann. Rep.*, 1863, p. 235.
[135] Adams, 1906, p. 42.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Territory. Every person carried upon a roll to be made up by February 18, 1867, was to be given one hundred and sixty acres of land purchased from the Cherokee Nation.[136] The Senate was slow in acting upon this treaty, and the Delawares in April, 1867, took the matter into their own hands and entered into the contract with the Cherokee Nation.[137] A Delaware delegation examined land in the Cherokee Nation and selected a strip of land lying along the Little Verdigris, or Caney, River. This tract comprises the northern four-fifths of present-day Washington County in northeastern Oklahoma.[138] The Delawares from tribal funds paid one dollar per acre for this land. When the roll was compiled there were nine hundred and eighty-five Delawares, who henceforth became part of the Cherokee tribe.[139]

During the fall and winter of 1867 the migration to Indian Territory was begun. The more prosperous individuals were the first to leave; some of the poorer Delawares did not arrive until the next summer.[140] This last migration is remembered by aged informants and is recalled as a journey of extreme hardship. It typifies the condition of the Delawares at this time, for it was the migration of a dispersed, erratically led, destitute remnant.

Acculturation

Acculturation during the Decadent Period is in one sense more complicated than at any other time. As has been seen, during this period the Delawares were more widely scattered and dispersed than they had been previously, and they were never able to regroup or reunite. The forces which affected these various remnants varied; the group which finally settled in the Anadarko vicinity, for example, had close contacts with the "wild" tribes (Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho), whereas the main body had more intimate relationships with the whites. For this and other reasons the subsequent culture change of these groups differed. Since my field work was principally with the descendants of the main body (the "Cherokee-Delaware"), my discussion principally concerns this group. It might be remarked in passing, however, that today all Delawares, whatever their antecedents, seem to have reached approximately the same stage of social and cultural assimilation.

It was during the Decadent Period that the aboriginal gardening techniques were finally abandoned. With the settlement of the main body of Delawares on reservations, and with closer association of Indians and whites, the opportunity to become acquainted with the horse-plow complex and the small grains increased immensely. The government agents and missionaries did everything within their power to transform the Delawares into sedentary, farming people. The men were reluctant, however, to alter their traditional role as hunters and warriors and

[136] *Ibid.*, p. 43; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 186-87.
[137] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 188.
[138] Adams, 1906, p. 43.
[139] G. Foreman, 1946, p. 188.
[140] Adams, 1906, p. 43; G. Foreman, 1946, pp. 188-89; *Ann. Rep.*, 1868, p. 263.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Eastern Woodland Indians NM4

built in front of the opening before they go in and hot stones placed in the middle of the inclosed area. Not long after they have entered, they are covered with perspiration, then they crawl out and cool off, returning to repeat the same thing three or four times. Women have their own sweating ovens though they do not use them as commonly as do the men.[24]

Blood-letting and cupping are also in vogue among them. For blood-letting they use flint or glass. Of either they break off little fragments until a piece is secured that suits the purpose. This is fixed to a short stick, placed upon the artery and struck. In case of cupping, they open the skin with a knife, put a little calabash over the opening, burning birch-bast instead of a lamp.

The Delaware Nation, consisting of three tribes, the Unamis,[25] Wunalachticos[26] and Monsys,[27] formerly lived in the region about Philadelphia, also in Jersey about Trenton, Brunswick and Amboy. The Unamis are the chief people of the nation; their language, differing but little from that of the Wunalachtico, is the most melodious. The Monsy tongue is quite different, even though the three grew out of one parent language. The last named tribe lived in Minnissing[28] along the Delaware, behind the Blue Mountains.

Among Indians belonging to the Moravian Congregation on the Muskingum River there are some old people, who were in Philadelphia when the first houses were built there. They are able to relate how peaceably and agreeably the whites and Indians dwelt together, as if they had been one people, being ever ready each to serve the other. Even among the savages there are old people, who tell the following, as I have heard it from various individuals.

Before the whites had come into the land, there had been Indians who foretold that someone would come to them across the great sea. This they had repeated on various occasions in the hearing of other Indians, at the last even indicating the day when this should come to pass, the event making good their words. How these Indians could have foretold it, no one professes to know, the only explanation offered being that there

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

At Pittsburg the Monongehella, which takes its rise in Virginia, enters into the river. In the Indian tongue the name of this river was Mechmenawungihilla, which signifies a high bank, which is ever washed out and therefore collapses. Ten miles up this river on Turtoise[40] Creek General Braddock was defeated by the French and Indians in 1755 and at Fort Sigonier,[41] fifty-four miles to the east of Pittsburg, at various times during those wars many people were killed by the Indians. 133

The Alleghene is a navigable river and as one says in English, "of gentle current." Large vessels may pass from Pittsburg down the Ohio to Illinoise and into the Mississippi, which is fifteen hundred miles, and to a French island, New Orleans, in the last named river. The Ohio empties into the Mississippi fourteen hundred miles below Pittsburg. Previous to this war, the east side of this river was already thickly settled, but since the Indians have massacred so many, most settlers have retreated. Further down, about six hundred miles from Pittsburg, also on the east bank of the river there is a large settlement of the whites on the Kentuke[42] River. These also suffered much from the Indians in the late war.

Up to six or seven years ago the Delawares lived along the Alleghene, but after the Six Nations had sold a considerable portion on the eastern side of the river to the whites, they retreated to the Muskingum, where they now live. This stream rises near Cajahages[43] in a small lake, and the Cajahage River empties into Lake Erie only a short distance from its source. [131]

When one thinks of the number of rivers and creeks that flow into the lakes, one ceases to wonder at the existence of the Great Lakes. Lake Huron, Michillimakinac, Michigan and Superior, which lie to the north of Detroit, all find an outlet in Lake Erie and this in turn in Lake Ontario, whence the St. Lawrence River rises. In all these lakes no current is observable, but their waters are clear and transparent, abounding in fish.

Traders have journeyed northward from Detroit through Lake Superior and beyond to the neighborhood of Hudson Bay in the interest of trade with the Indians. Such a journey usually takes a year.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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women officiated under such circumstances, Schoolcraft *History*, Pt. IV, 515. Loskiel refers to the efficiency of female doctors in child-birth. *History*, 110.

34. These primitive Turkish baths were, unquestionably, a great means of health to this race which suffered so largely from colds. Dr. McClure, who gives an interesting description of a sweating oven on the Muskingum, asserts, however, that to pulmonary disorders and small pox, the treatment was quite fatal. *Diary*, 67.

35. The Unamis, the chief tribe of the Delawares, lived on the Tuscarawas River.

36. The Unalochtgos, the tribe of second importance, lived beside the Tuscarawas.

37. The Monseys lived mostly on the Big Beaver River.

38. Orange Co., N. Y.

39. It is refreshing, in the face of so many idealistic accounts of primitive Indian life to read these blunt, plain statements of facts from Zeisberger's pen. We probably know more accurately concerning the Six Nations than of any other Indians. One of the earliest reports claims that De Nonville's soldiers in 1687 destroyed a million and a quarter bushels of corn in four Seneca villages. And yet we know that the eating of children in time of utter famine was known among the Senecas — Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1755) II, 8. If such destitution could exist in a region exceedingly well watered and fertile, what of Indians not so fortunately placed?

40. Bracket fungus.

41. Remains of the Mound-building Indians. These were found on the site of at least one of the Moravian Mission towns, Lichtenau. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 433, 436 *Note*.

42. Unquestionably a European idea; no mounds in the Middle West were high enough to serve the purpose of rolling blocks or stones. The greater part of the mounds so far opened prove to have been raised over charnel houses after the latter had been filled with bodies.

43. These facts concerning the woolen wampum and the substitute for wampum are of utmost interest.

44. Allegheny River.

45. Neville's Island? This is clearly, the Delaware tradition.

46. Tennessee River, commonly known in early days as the Cherokee River. See A. B. Hulbert's, "Washington's Tour to the Ohio," *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quart.* XVII, (Oct. 1908), 484.

46½. At the Treaty of Fort Stanwix?

47. Here begins Zeisberger's version of the legend of the conquest of the Iroquois over the Delawares, one of the famous Indian legends. It is possible that this Zeisberger account is the original English (German) version upon which so many versions have been based. Heckewelder (*History* 11) referring to the source of his information.

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyuskung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found.

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware of Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuykill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present status, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the north[illegible] coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of [illegible]stern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

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Delaware tribe was gathered together on a reservation in Kansas in 1835 and from there removed to their present location in Oklahoma, where they are politically incorporated in the Cherokee nation. Other Delaware, most of whom belonged to the Munsee division and were converted by Moravian missionaries in the eighteenth century, are now located in Ontario.

DELAWARE CULTURE

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The method of presentation which has been followed is to place the authorities for each statement immediately after it. For the most part, traits for which there is no evidence in earlier sources have been omitted, but where this leaves a large gap in the picture of the culture, sections based purely on eighteenth century sources have been inserted. The material has been divided into three main aspects, and proceeds from a consideration of economic life, to social organization and religion.

Means of Procuring Food

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[262]

For the tribes living on the east coast, fishing was probably the most important means of getting food, judging from the relative amounts of shells and animal bones found in ancient sites (Skinner, 1915, p. 7). Oysters, clams, mussels and scallops were widely utilized as well as rockfish, shad, herring, sturgeon and gar fish which were found plentifully in those waters (Abbott, 1875, p. 278; Skinner, 1909, p. 46).

According to Lindstrom, the Indians caught fish by building a dam across a stream near its source or at a waterfall. When the river rose, the last small opening was closed in the dam and the water allowed to flow over it, leaving the fish in shallow water at low tide. They were then either taken by hand or shot with bow and arrow (sic). The latter method was also used in deep water (Lindstrom, 1915, pp. 219-220). Other writers report the use of hemp nets, and a number of stone sinkers have been found in archaeological sites. Rude seines of matted leaves and twigs are mentioned as well as fishing spears (Abbott, 1875, pp. 278 and 361; Heye, p. 70; Skinner, 1915, pp. 7 and 10; Harrington, 1913, p. 222).

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The Delaware's hunting was done both cooperatively and individually. Early Swedish writers have described one cooperative method in which deer were surrounded either by a ring of men or by a ring of fire, and driven toward the center where they were shot with bow and arrow. Sometimes they were driven into a river where they were lassoed (Johnson, p. 281; Lindstrom, p. 214). According to a later writer, these hunting parties had a leader and were governed by definite rules, but there is no direct evidence for this in pre-contact times (Loskiel, p. 77). These organized hunts took place in the fall, but hunting itself was a year round occupation

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their common name is derived from the fact that their first known residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in 1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites. They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

12:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (no date)1950
NM7 Delaware NM7

Delaware Indian Art Designs

GLADYS TANTAQUIDGEON

Introduction

101 THE DELAWARES belong to the Algonkian linguistic stock. When referring to themselves they use the term Lenape or Lenni Lenape, which denotes "real" or "native men." The original
131 habitat of the Delawares was in southeastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. In this territory they were first visited by the Dutch,
648 Swedish and English voyagers in the 16th
175 and 17th centuries. About 1720, trouble began owing in part to pressure brought upon the Delawares by the Iroquois. This marked the beginning of a series of
167 migrations in which bands of Delawares
175 left their ancestral homes in the east and moved westward. Their first move took them to the valley of the Susquehanna, where they settled at Wyoming about 1742. By 1751 they had reached eastern Ohio and formed settlements. Another move brought numbers of them into Indiana. In 1789 they were granted permission by the Spanish government to settle in Missouri and Arkansas. Later most of the tribe was brought together on a reservation

[P. 24, A]

15:Morgan E-8 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7
Munsee

[p 59]
[p 58 not processed]

Munsees

101 The Munsees are closely allied to the Dela-
wares. They have the three tribes, Wolf,
614 Turtle and Turkey, with the prohibition of
[582] intermarriage in the tribe, and with descent
[611] in the female line. This Toucey told me who
has lived among them. They are old Con-
101 necticut Indians. There are about 50 near
162 Fort Leavenworth, and some I think near
●131 Green Bay.